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Invoking Monroe Doctrine

We Do So, It Is Noted, to Bar, Not Permit, Revolutionary Change

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

There should be more discussion of the background of the Monroe Doctrine and its significance to meet an immediate political problem of 150 years ago, rather than treating it as an inspired revelation vouchsafed to President Monroe in 1823 and valid for all time.

In 1823 the United States was viewed with much the same suspicion by the orthodox monarchies of Europe as today the Soviet Union is viewed by conservative governments of the West. The Monroe Doctrine came into being as a direct answer to the Holy Alliance, which sought to combine the monarchs of Austria, Russia, and Prussia into a league to preserve the status quo everywhere.

The Alliance swung into action in 1822 by persuading the Bourbon regime of Louis XVIII to send troops to Spain to shore up the tottering throne of Ferdinand VII. It then planned to enlarge operations by putting down the revolts in Ferdinand's American colonies.

It was at this point that President Monroe, backed by Prime Minister George Canning of England and the British fleet, declared "Hands Off America."

U. S. Quarantine

At the present time the Doctrine is invoked as a means of preventing revolutionary change, rather than allowing it to develop. The Castro regime, whatever its faults, is a

revolutionary regime; it has been put into quarantine by the United States; an invasion has been mounted against it by the C.I.A.; and representatives of so-called "Free Cuba" are encouraged to operate from United States bases against the territory and territorial waters of Castro Cuba. In this context, Castro has called in the Soviet Union. He may have been unwise to do this, but is not Castro essentially trying to preserve the original premise of the Monroe Doctrine, in carrying out revolutionary change

In the twentieth century the political content of Monroe's Doctrine has been scrapped in favor of a military-strategic concept advantageous to the United States. One may also point out that there was a corollary, well understood, to the original Doc-

trine: the United States would keep out of European affairs. But over the last 50 years the United States has intervened drastically in Europe and today is charged with preserving the status quo through its rocket and missile bases on the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

There may well be adventurers around Castro ready to chance anything to get into power and to stay there. But are not such men encouraged by the United States Government's Cuban policy? Since the Bay of Pigs fiasco, what folly has been omitted in dealing with Cuba? Today, men as unscrupulous as any around Castro, posing as a government-in-exile, are allowed to operate out of Miami and Caribbean bases to bombard neutral shipping in Cuban waters and residential districts on the island.

Cubans' Rights

The first order of business might well be to cease talking about the Monroe Doctrine in a rigid legalistic sense and as if the Cubans had no rights abroad except those rights permitted to them by the United States and the Marine Corps.

The United States Government should clamp down on the Cuban refugees and their wealthy supporters in Miami Beach, take away their guns and their motor ships. A meeting of the O.A.S. should be convened, with Cuban representatives, at which Cuba's point of view should be aired. FRANCIS LEARY.

Paris, Sept. 17, 1962.

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